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438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry.

(263) The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old.

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(177) While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling

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(373) articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

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● 445 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have
463 a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are
231 perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
 445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamasight for
 463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
 231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Rifians
 (556) to ~~kill~~ an animal for meat unless there is a special social
 occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
 the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
 (735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
 445 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
 445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
 (265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
 (785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
 (796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
 Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
 hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
 445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
 565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of insiren,
 or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
 are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
 to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
 wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
 445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the insiren)
 565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
 423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
 loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
 plausible. On the other hand, some insiren musicians with whom

445 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes
565 but find their occupation more remunerative.
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443 In addition to these small merchants there is an assort-
445 ment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special
goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his
Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the
itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the
bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician.

(159) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occa-
sionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs,
stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the
whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside
the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too
extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides
the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather periph-
eral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers,
443 the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital
472 so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation,
who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart
from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two
different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in
both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well
turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to
the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

Composition of the Market of Arba Taurirt, 1965

Commodity	Vendors		Commodity	Vendors	
	Sept. 15	Nov. 10		Sept. 15	Nov. 10
443 kerosene	6	8	barbers	11	9
438 rugs	8	7	solderers	3	2
445 pottery	1	1	shoe repair	9	6
265 baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0	butchers	11	9
men's new clothes	13	12	food for consumption		
men's used clothes	7	4	at market	12	10
women's clothes	x	27	medicine	1	0
hardware and spices	29	27	photography	1	0
barley	8	7	dentist	1	0
bread	1	2	palm		
candy	4	4	reader	0	1
window frames	1	1	jewelry	0	1
books	1	1	rubber		
soft drinks	1	0	boots	0	1
trucks of fish	3	1	belts	0	1
			magician	0	1
garlic	a	a	turnips	0	a
peppers	a	0	eggs	a	a
almonds	a	0	melons	1	0
walnuts	1	0	grapes	a	0
oranges	0	a	tomatoes	a	0
raisins	0	a	potatoes	a	a
			onions	a	a

a) indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x) indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions.

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442 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no connections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

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445 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

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444 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants of the sug, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

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571 These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its